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his family are a necessary part of the process of assuaging the affinal family's anger. However, such one-sided payments do not in themselves set up a social relationship between affines among the Orokaiva. During this whole first phase of the marriage, the strictest affinal taboos are maintained, prohibiting, for instance, commensality between son-in-law and parents-in-law and their close kin. For social relations to begin, it is necessary for the bride's mother to rear a pig for sacrifice to the bridegroom. Unless she does this the son-in-law feels too 'ashamed' of the humiliations he has been through and of the anger shown to him for social relations to be possible. This sacrifice, too, has therefore an element of expiation. After this sacrifice, the taboos are relaxed and the mother-in-law attends a feast at which she *pretends* to eat. Ruth Craig (1969:189), who describes a similar pattern among the Telefolmin of the New Guinea Highlands, comments cogently: 'The second transaction, the return payment, initiates the affinal relationship and emphasises its chief characteristic, friendly reciprocity . . . The relationship starts as one of equality.' It is thus clear that model 27 provides an explanation not only of inter-village feasts and consanguineal relations, but also of the establishment of affinal relationships. On the social plane pig-sacrifice establishes positive reciprocity, while on the magico-religious plane it generates *ivo* for the participants. Reciprocity and *ivo* are thus homologous notions on different levels of conceptualisation.

REFERENCES

1 Durkheim wrote that a sacrifice is composed of two essential elements: an act of communion and an act of oblation (1961: 384). He distinguished sharply between representative or commemorative rites and piacular rites, according to the prevailing mood. The former are performed in a state of confidence and joy, the latter in a state of sadness, arising out of misfortune, evil omens, sorrow or fear (*ibid.* 434–5). Evans-Pritchard (1956:275) made a somewhat similar distinction, though perhaps a less subjective one, between 'communion' (involving a desire to be close to God) and 'piaculum' (involving a desire to keep God away or get rid of him).

The phenomena described in this work, though aberrant from the viewpoint of the Durkeimian and Evans-Pritchard models, are fairly widespread in Melanesia. For instance, Lane, describing pig sacrifices on South Pentecost, points out (1) that sacrificer and sacrificed pig merge and share identity; (2) that the meaning of the offerings is 'clarified by reference to the way in which a special formal friendship is instituted between two men' (1965: 267). The Mae Enga sacrifice pigs to a ghost when that ghost is suspected of causing misfortunes. But half or more of the meat, sometimes all of it, goes to maternal kinsmen as the ghost is always considered to belong to the uterine line (Meggitt 1965*b*: 112–3). Elements of communion and piaculum are both present, but also a need to influence critical social relationships.

2 For a detailed discussion of myths related to the differentiation of species, see Lévi-Strauss 1964.

3 For details on the effect of the Mount Lamington eruption on the Sangara tribe and the founding and development of Hohorita, see Schwimmer 1969.

4 A fuller discussion on Orokaiva leadership will be found in Reay 1953, Schwimmer 1967.

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583 *dorobu* items are: pigs, taro, pots, bark cloth, feathers and bone and shell ornaments. To this we may add, for modern marriages, money. The pigs are sacrificed and not used for breeding. The pots and bark cloths are kept by the bride or distributed in her family but are not, as a rule, applied towards a future *dorobu*. Feathers and ornaments are kept by the various recipients who use them, may give them away or trade them at their convenience, but there is no fixed practice of applying them especially for *dorobu*. There is no circuit in which wives move in one direction, and *dorobu* in the opposite direction. When a *dorobu* marriage is afoot the prospective bridegroom, the members of his paternal and maternal *hae* and, to a minor extent, other members of his clan, will amass the goods that are necessary. Pigs are specially bred, taro may be specially grown. Birds are hunted for feathers. Trade goods are assembled for the acquisition of ornaments. In modern times, the prospective bridegroom seeks employment to obtain money. If the bride's brother happens to be collecting bridewealth at the time of the wedding, his own task may be facilitated, but he is still expected to show his prowess by going through the same operations as his brother-in-law.

583 606 The difference between African and Papuan practice is basically that *lobola* cattle are preserved whereas *dorobu* pigs are sacrificed. Though we are right in supposing *dorobu* to be a set of gift exchange objects, it would be misleading to say that *dorobu* is exchanged for a woman. I have collected detailed information (as yet unpublished) about the symbolic meaning of the transfer of the objects included in *dorobu*. This formation is inconsistent with the theory that these objects are regarded as equivalent to a bride. Also, the especially aggressive behaviour of the bride's parents towards their new *iml* is hard to explain on the assumption that *dorobu* is in any way a symbolic equivalent of the bride.

The main recurrent theme of all informant's statements about *dorobu* marriage is the anger of the bride's parents. This anger is more than a mere psychological state: it is a basic part of the institution. The degree of anger may vary from one case to the next according to the amount of animosity that is felt towards the *iml's* village, family and person. If there is any hint of a breach of the exogamy rules it will be very great; if the *iml's* local clan group has a claim on a wife from the bride's village, the anger may be much less. But some degree of anger is expected in any *dorobu* marriage.

Dorobu is fundamentally a payment for anger.[3] When my interpreter wished to marry a classificatory *mosida* her father, after first refusing outright, finally set a brideprice at a rate more than four times as high as had ever been paid in the village. This was out of the question and my interpreter left the village soon afterwards. People told me this price showed the measure of the man's anger. A similar line of explanation was followed when I asked informants the meaning of the strict rules of avoidance practised towards affines. I asked: 'Why do you behave in this way? Don't you like your *imboh*?' The reply was: 'I love her very much because it was she who gave me my wife. But I feel ashamed because I shall never be able to repay her.'

431 583 It is possible, from the evidence of rites and myths, to reconstruct the significance of the various gifts that compose *dorobu*. Summarising the results of such a reconstruction, I suggest that the gifts of taro and pig both re-enact a sacrifice in primal time where a man, identified respectively with taro and pig, is

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000 2. E. G. and J. D. Krige describe a particularly clear example (1943: Ch. IX; 1939) among the Lovedu.

583 3. I discussed in Chapter VII the Orokaiva device of using anger for the
606 mediation of social relations. Monica Wilson has described a somewhat similar
578 mechanism for the Nyakusa (1952: 99–112; 1959: 161, 165, 217). Among the Orokaiva, however, two opposite tendencies are at work: the obligation to express at once the anger one feels and the offender's obligation to assuage that anger (whether justified or not). Much Orokaiva exchange involves prestations made by one party to compensate for anger felt by the other.
While 'anger in the heart' is disapproved by Orokaiva, most actual misfortunes are explained by anger existing in someone else's heart. The guilty person is deemed to be he who, though aware of his anger, does nothing to remove it. It is most often the victim of the angry person's retribution who is expected to feel guilty. One may show anger by harming one*self*. Such action, while overtly non-aggressive, is in fact a threatening signal to the causer of the anger.

000 4. A similar discovery was made by Watson (1970) in a paper based on New Guinea Highlands data, entitled 'Society as Organised Flow'.

current village of the other or from a village within a mile of it, in 11 cases from within a radius of approximately 3 miles of it (in fact an area only slightly larger than the 'neighbourhood'), while 2 spouses came from outside the tribe. Williams (1930:131-3) speaks of 'a certain degree of local endogamy'. The Aiga village '(in which there may be several clans)...cannot be called exogamous even in theory'.

Belshaw too (1951:15) pointed out that marriage is usually between people whose parents do not live far apart. For this reason he warned that amalgamation of nearby 'hamlets' after the eruption might increase tension between groups linked by marriage. But relationships between affines in Sivepe appeared to be generally close and behaviour relatively informal and friendly when compared with other areas (e.g., Inonda).

Perhaps there is a similar contrast with former practice (see Williams, ibid:106, 114, 128, 131). However, in 1924 in a third area (the Ope or Aiga), the village, consisting as it might of intermarrying clans, was quite free from 'quarrels and ill-feeling' (Williams, ibid:315) and, moreover, it is 'not unusual' for a man to divide his time quite comfortably 'between the villages of his wife's people and his own' with the result that 'the relation between the father's people and the mother's people is, in practice, so friendly and intimate, that the child associates himself almost as readily with the latter as with the former' - 'so close is the intimacy between the two branches of the united family' (1925:407-8, 410).

Individuals freely and frequently change their village of residence, whereas the villages are enduring units. During the years 1957-61 the population of Sivepe and Binduta together averaged 165: there were in the same time no less than 113 movements of individuals into or out of this couple of villages and, according to data collected by ourselves, at least 13 between the 2 villages. The government census statistics reveal neither the cause, exact destination nor frequency of movement by an individual nor are his age or marital status recorded.[1]

(ii) Formal features of the local patrilineal groups. In discussing the local disposition of clans, we have already taken 'clan branch' to denote the representatives of the clan living in one village. We retain the term not only for the Timunu group but also for the members of the 4 Jegase lineages living at Sivepe, even though these villagers do not constitute a group of co-resident agnates with functions to mark it as a distinctive unit within the

[1] Thus the figures do not differentiate between adults and children (see McArthur 1956:324-36).

425 f. Local organisation and land transfers

(i) Land use. The use of land is necessary in two senses to validate a land claim among these Orokaiva. Usage is an important factor in determining the extent to which land is identified with the component units of the group which claims to hold land (cf. Williams 1928:123 and Plant 1951: Appendix 2).

425 184 Four factors have produced a closer identification between a household and the patrimonial land it cultivates than in some other Orokaiva areas: first, the frequency with which an adopted member retains and transmits to his own descendants land which he acquired from his natal group; second, the limited supply of land; third, continual use by people of the lineage land used by and inherited from their fathers, in that no special access to land of other lineages of the clan branch is accorded to them simply as a group of co-resident agnates; and fourth, a fertile soil which allows a short fallow cycle after single plantings of a predominant soil-exhausting crop.

613 428 [848] It has been common practice for distinct genealogical branches within the lineage to exercise continuous and exclusive rights to separate areas of lineage land. The small group within which these prescriptive rights are exercised and transmitted does not easily endure demographic changes and if there are no surviving male members, the rights it exercised may in certain circumstances devolve on a female member, for instance, and subsequently to her son, even if he is illegitimate, or perhaps a claim of a relatively close agnate will be overridden in favour of a distant clansman, with or without other cognatic ties to the group. When these rights are transmitted outside the direct male line, residence and land use are important as factors which influence the definition of the rights of the beneficiary vis-a-vis surviving members of the wider patrilineal group. As noted above the scope of the authority of members of the wider group in questions of land tends to have been limited by the frequent independent movement of the smaller units.

425 [606] [614] Our descriptions of the kinship composition of the village and neighbourhood and of the social elements of land use indicate that it is common to find men living and gardening in the same village or neighbourhood as their mother's or wife's kin and that the relationship with these people in certain cases overlays some patrilineal affiliation. Individual ties of clanship too are sometimes given new significance when reinforced by co-residence and exchanges of gardening rights. These patterns, we suggest, are correlated with repeated instances of transfers of prescriptive land rights from the small effective landholding group to kinsfolk of other lineages or clans.

514 In pre-European times, according to present-day informants, the most important feasts held by the Orokaiva people were associated with initiation, marriage, death (though apparently not birth), and the enhancement of prestige. Feasts were also held to mark the transfer of land, the re-establishment of peace between persons who had been quarrelling, resumption of residence after a prolonged absence, and the lifting of prohibitions between a man and his mother-in-law.

514 178 It is impossible to know with any certainty the scale of feasting prior to European contact for, though a detailed study of these people was made in the late 1920s (Williams 1928 and 1930). Government patrols had brought tribal fighting to a halt some years before. It is therefore quite likely that, with less time taken up in warfare and greater freedom of movement assured, the feasts and ceremonies of that day were more elaborate than those of the pre-contact era.

While feasts are still held today, the relative emphasis given to each category has changed considerably. Feasts associated with initiation are held on a greatly reduced scale and often omitted altogether, but those relating to marriage and death remain important. The taro festivals, the main function of which appears to have been the enhancement of prestige, are still held in some places but have been abandoned in others. The other feasts listed above are still held occasionally, with the exception of those relating to the lifting of prohibitions in relation to mothers-in-law.[1]

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[1] Since the above was written, such a feast was held by a family from this village but now living on a government resettlement scheme about two miles away. The atypical circumstances of the new residence pattern may have caused the revival of the feast (known as peikari) because when the daughter of the settler married, the new husband was brought to live with them to help with cash cropping. This is contrary to the customary pattern of virilocal residence. Living in such close contact with his mother-in-law probably made the highly formalized relations between them difficult to maintain. The feast was thus invoked to sanction more relaxed relations between them.

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621 also reported that there is one plant emblem which all Inonda members
614 of the Andiriha clan have in common, a feature not found in Sivepe.

In discussing household composition patterns, I shall simplify the picture somewhat, as for the purpose of this study it is irrelevant
592 whether children are natural or adopted, legitimate or not, children of both parents or one and whether clan membership is "primary" or "permissive." All these questions would be highly relevant, of course, if we were dealing with a village such as Hohorita, where many people died during the eruption so that many remarriages and adoptions can
[114] be traced to that cause. One of the strange gaps in Williams' ethnography is that he omits any reference as to household composition; in his notebooks, he records household composition for two villages, Burugata and Wasida, showing that in every case in those villages, a household was made up by a husband, wife and children. In one case of a polygamous family, the man had two houses, one for the family of one of his wives and one for the families of the other two.

592 Informants told me of one rule regarding household composition which is likely to be quite ancient. This is that a man and his wife
606 may not quarrel in the presence of the husband's father (and, needless to say, in the presence of the wife's father). For this reason, the people of Sivepe certainly do n.t like three-generation households when the middle generation is represented by a married couple. It is normal for a married woman to stay with her parents or her husband's parents while her own husband is away working forwages--as is frequent among younger couples. In that case, the household will have three generations, but the middle generation is represented by a woman only, with the husband only an infrequent guest. When I came to Sivepe, and the village was still only half-built, I found three households in which the middle generation was represented by a husband and wife plus, sometimes, a few others. In all these three cases, a change had occurred before I left: the husband and wife had built themselves one house, leaving another for the old people and perhaps some other adults, not including couples. This rule seems to be regarded as less important in Inonda. (See Table 15.)[A]

592 My own impression is that the normal household is composed of a nuclear family, as appears from the Sivepe (but not the Inonda)
[594] statistics. Widowers and sometimes also widows live in houses by
[589] themselves, even if they have no young children living with them and do not like staying with their children after they are married. A widower usually has his meals cooked for him by a daughter or other close relative who brings the food to this house. Though occasionally, two married brothers (or other close relatives) live in the same house, this is likely to be a temporary arrangement. I do not think that useful sociological conclusions can be drawn from comparison between Inonda and Sivepe in respect of household compositions, as there are in Inonda only two households of the type I have shown to be highly untypical and these may well be accounted for by idiosyncratic circumstances.

A [See Cat. 116, p. 220--Analyst]